1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibsen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghzuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghzuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The raw hide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days: crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghzuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Asht Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabilch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tisi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

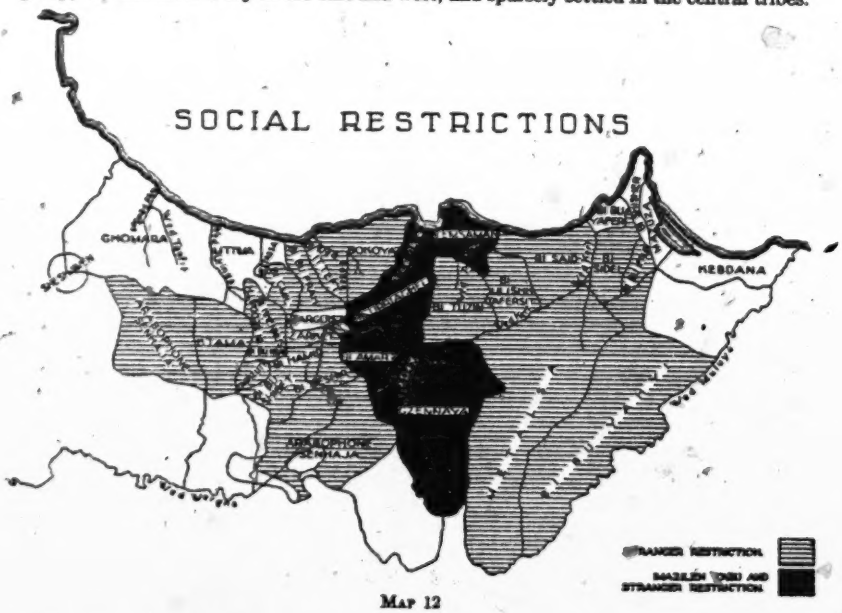
[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565
563
463

is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



MAP 12

The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tizera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Tuzin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present considered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fez from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering. Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting, the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

Pipers,[1] or *imṯhiyazen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending in the horns of the goudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishegairen* (singular *ashegair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties.
463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramadān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», *Africa*, Madrid, Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

616 619 726 (614) [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] [614] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[111] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[112] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[113] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[114] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[115] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[111] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.
[112] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymum* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[113] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).
[114] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.
[115] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. [162] The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural."

[113] " *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 40.

619 131 /208 cont./
'Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

[127]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] [648] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]